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ADDRESS

ON THE

HISTORY, AUTHORITY AND INFLUENCE

OF

SLAVERY,

BY

J. B. FERGUSON, A. M.

DELIVERED IN THE 1ST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NASHVILLE, TENN. 21ST OF NOVEMBER, 1850.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

JOHN T. S. FALL, BOOK AND JOB PR—BEN FRANKLIN OFFICE, COLLEGE ST.

1850.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

NASHVILLE, Nov. 23, 1850.

REV. J. B. FERGUSON—DEAR SIR:—

Feeling, in common with our Fellow-Citizens, a deep interest in the subject, so ably discussed by you on Thursday evening, 21st inst., we respectfully ask a copy of your admirable Address for publication. By complying with this request you will gratify many of your warm admirers and personal friends, and serve the cause of truth. The proceeds will be applied for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum.

Very Respectfully,

JAMES WALKER,
G. M. FOGG,
F. B. FOGG,
JAS. CORY,
JAS. WOODS,

JAMES A. PORTER,
J. B. SNOWDEN,
JOHN S. DASHIELL,
ANDREW EWING,
A. M. McCALL,

E. H. FOSTER,
JNO. M. BASS.
W. H. WOODWARD,
E. G. EASTMAN.

NASHVILLE, TENN., Nov. 27TH 1850.

GENTLEMEN:— I cordially yield to your request. The Address was prepared amidst many interruptions during the few days between the invitation to address our fellow-citizens, and its delivery. But as its sentiments are the result of a patient and conscientious examination of the subject, I am willing to lay them before the public in the rough dress in which I have been compelled to clothe them. My impression has been for some years, that even our Southern population, in many instances, entertain very erroneous views upon this subject; and the reason is obvious: Our politicians in the beginning of the Abolition agitation, feeling their security in the constitutional guarantees of the government, avoided and sometimes denounced discussion. The fanaticism on the other side of the question, has been ever vigilant and almost every agency by which public sentiment could be manufactured and controlled has been seized upon and spiritedly used. A generation has grown up under the influence of a one-sided view of the subject, and many excellent men have tacitly yielded to the assumption that Slavery is a crime for which there is neither justification or apology. It is time this state of things were changed. The subject should be investigated, and especially as the destinies of nearly half the States of this Union, and the happiness of four millions of a now contented and dependent colored population, depend upon its righteous adjustment.

If we would preserve our institutions, and secure the developement and advancement of the capacities of both races, we must promote rational instead of romantic views of human liberty. The natural love of liberty common to man and which properly directed, may lead to the happiest results, is now so appealed to, and so controlled, as to threaten almost every God-appointed relationship in society. The fact that a few negroes amongst us do exhibit bright intellectual qualities, leads superficial observers to conclude that all are, or soon may be, qualified for an enlarged freedom. Limited ideas of God's providence and a disregard of the plain letter and meaning of his word, are every where prevalent. The fact, confirmed by all history, that this race are utterly discontented, unhappy and worthless, except when in subjection to the whites, is treated with contempt; and the true friends of the Black man are losing their influence for good over him.

I am willing, therefore, with reference to the best interests of my country, and the true well-being of the slave population of these States, to contribute my mite to the promotion of a rational, and scriptural view of the subject.

Please accept my thanks for the complimentary, not to say flattering manner in which you have received the Address and now seek its publication; and believe me with sentiments of the highest personal esteem,

Very Truly, Your Fellow-Citizen,

J. B. FERGUSON.

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ADDRESS.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

I propose an address upon the subject of SLAVERY. I select this topic not because it is the subject of popular interest now agitating all the States of this great Confederacy; nor because its agitation in our national halls of Legislation, seemed but a few months since, to threaten the Union of these States with all that our fathers and their children have held dear and sacred in the Constitutional balances of our hitherto happy government, and which many have idolized as the guarantees of the inalienable rights of man,—but I select it because of its intrinsic importance in every just view of all human government and of the natural and unavoidable relations of different races occupying different positions in the scale of intellectual advancement and political civilization.

I have examined it in the light of man's normal condition, of history, and of divine revelation. I have examined it free from Northern and Southern prejudices; without fear of denunciation from Abolition fanaticism, or expectation of favor, from a defence of slave-holding interests; having never owned, and never expecting to own, a slave, and at the same time having no direct personal interest in any way, either politically or religiously viewed, with Emancipationism either here or in any part of the world. I feel free upon the subject—have thought freely and desire to speak freely, and to be heard without respect to political or partizan prejudices on the part of any of my respected audience—to be heard as a man speaking to men, by a statement of facts and an appeal to reason and to the Scriptures, regarded as authentic and divinely inspired.

And here, let us at once enquire:—What do we mean by *Slavery*? We use the term in its commonly received acceptation, and understand it to signify, such a condition of servitude as that wherein one comparatively civilized people, may hold another of absolutely inferior civic attainments, in hereditary bondage, or a bondage that shall descend from generation to generation, until at least the inferior shall become, in some degree, capable of the sustained efforts and persevering toil of a free government.

Allow me also to state that I am familiar with the objections that will be urged to this definition. It will be said that it takes for granted the thing in debate; and we will be asked what is civilization, and who are to decide its measure, and the capacity of man for self-government,—but these and similar questions will receive their proper answer as we advance in our argument.

Slavery originates in the very necessity of man's fallen condition, and should be regarded as one of the unavoidable results of his natural self-will and insubordination to his earthly career. And hence it has been recognized and approved, in all divine revelation, as it may be justified in every *practical* view of the philosophy of human happiness. Our appeal upon this subject and before this audience, shall be to the Bible which we regard as the only authoritative exponent of the will of God. The history which it gives us of man before the flood is very brief, and from it we are unable to learn, whether domestic slavery existed in that remote period or not.—But immediately after that signal event, we have from Noah, the fountain and founder of the Charter of all political government, the following recognition of hereditary slavery, which is worthy of our profound consideration. In describing the fortunes of his descendants, he gives us the history of the world: “Cursed be Canaan; a *servant of servants* shall he be unto his brethren. And blessed be Shem, of the Lord God, and Canaan shall be his *servant*. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem and Canaan shall be *his servant*.”—Gen. 9: 25–27. This prediction was never fulfilled in the individual history of these persons, but has

been most wonderfully verified in that of their descendants down to the present generation.

I digress to offer one remark befitting my office, which may resolve many doubts and serve to relieve the minds of non-discriminating thinkers. And that is: That a curse, in the form of a prediction, denounced against a nation, may prove the greatest of moral and spiritual blessings to individuals of that nation, and so far as the spiritual government which God holds over those who regard his authority, is concerned it is in nothing interfered with and may be promoted. So, a national blessing may prove a curse to individuals who prepare themselves not for a blessing. We might give numerous illustrations but our present purpose will not warrant it. It may be asked, Why is the denunciation of slavery pronounced upon Canaan for the offence of Ham? To which it may be replied, that some manuscripts read Ham instead of Canaan; and that this prediction was written at a time when the descendants of Shem were waging a war of extermination against the Canaanites. But however this reason may be regarded, there is a very common mistake made here, which, if corrected, will meet every difficulty in this question. The mistake is, that the offensive conduct of Ham was the *cause* of this curse of Slavery. In this view we might well ask, why curse Canaan for the sin of Ham? The truth is: that the offence of Ham was only the *occasion* of the denunciation. The curse, so called, is a prediction, and the only way in which it was a punishment to either Ham or Canaan, was that the abject and servile condition of their descendants was made known to Ham, and was placed in contrast with the honorable and elevated position of those of Shem and Japheth.

The phrase, "Canaan shall be a *servant of servants*," is a Hebræism equivalent to an abject degree of servitude, or "Canaan shall be a *domestic servant* to both Shem and Japheth." The latter part of the prophecy may be thus paraphrased: As if addressing the future nations of the earth, He says: "Make room for Japheth—he shall take the tents and dominion of Shem and Canaan shall be his servant."

In exact accordance with this prediction we learn, in the

subsequent and undisputed history of the world, that the Tartars, Greeks and Romans, Scythians and Britons have taken the tents or lands and dominions of Shem. Contests they have often had with the descendants of Shem and Ham, and oftentimes the conflict has been doubtful, and even for a time decided against them, but in the end Japheth has proved victorious, and the dominion has passed into his hands. The Carthagenians, for example, descendants of Ham, long contended with the Romans, and their armies were headed by skillful generals, but Scipio was victorious over Hannibal—the white man triumphed over the black—whilst Carthage, as a republic, sunk to rise no more. Look at all the east even at this day, opening their lands, and yielding up the sceptre into the hands of Japheth in the persons of the British and Russian conquerors, and by which he daily enlarges his already world-wide dominion. Babylon has fallen, Persia is but a name, Egypt, once the cradle of learning and the arts, is dimmed with age and robbed of her glory, whilst China and Hindostan turn their backs to the “isles of the Gentiles,” and give their daring sons their tents and their kingdom. Japheth can only be conquered by Japheth. No Shemite or Hamite can long hold a sceptre over him when once his fury is stirred and the rage of his roaring is heard as the Lion of the earth.

Eight hundred years after the delivery of this prophecy, thirty kings of the Canaanites were subdued by Joshua and his hosts, descendants of Shem; and after numerous wars in their subsequent history, their land was divided, and those that remained became *slaves* to the Jews, and by an express divine statute, were delivered over to perpetual bondage. The Carthagenians and Tyrians served the Greeks and Romans, and their descendants now serve the Saracens and Turks. The whole continent of Africa was peopled by the descendants of Ham, and for ages the best parts of their country have been under the dominion, first of the Romans, then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks; whilst many are carried annually and sold as slaves in all parts of the world. So that first they have become servants to Shem when he held the dominion, and when Japheth was enlarged and became the possessor

of Shem's corrupted sceptre, Canaan became his servant, and that dominion and service continue to this day.

But it will be said, this Scripture is the record of a prediction, and by no means does it sanction the slavery predicted.— This objection might be valid but it will be observed that God not only predicts the slavery but pronounces a *blessing* upon the Slave-holder!

In this department of our argument, we beg leave to use a few passages from a Lecture we published upon another subject some two years since.

“Millions of their race in slavery at home; millions are in slavery abroad, and from all that we have seen in attempts to liberate them, we are warranted in the conclusion, that their national destiny is fixed. They were liberated in the West Indies, and St. Domingo from being one of the most flourishing and highly important islands, in a commercial point of view, can now barely support its home population, whilst frequent rebellions and brutal massacres turn the cheek of the Philanthropist pale as he beholds his fond visions melt into thin air. Fifty-eight years ago the negroes were liberated; but the independence of the islands is not yet established. St. Domingo, the greatest and most flourishing of these islands, and containing nine thousand square miles of the most fertile lands and in one of the most productive climates of the habitable earth, which in 1789 exported nearly 700,000,000 pounds of sugar and 87,000,000 of coffee, after the liberation of the blacks *has exported not one pound!* This fact is unparalleled in human history. In less than forty years the wealth, produce and trade of St. Domingo dwindled to nothing. The industrious habits and prosperous aspect of the island have disappeared; the agriculture of the fields has ceased, and from being the greatest exporting island it has ceased to raise any sugar; whilst the population is reduced to half the amount and have relapsed into the ignorance, misery and inactivity of savage life.*

*In confirmation of the general statements here made, see Gibbon ch. xxv. page 311; Allison's History of Europe, vol. ii page 351; McKenzie's St. Domingo, vol. i. *passim*. The following table from the latter work is of instructive import:

Even British historians admit, as they detail the horrors of their revolutions and the indolence which characterised their liberated Slaves, that as a race they have shown themselves incapable of the continued efforts, the sustained and persevering toil necessary to erect the temple of civilized freedom. They are proverbially inactive when left to themselves, and this is neither the result of pusillanimity nor the absence of virtue. They indulge their passions like the rest of mankind, and are often engaged in hostile warfare with neighboring tribes. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual means of defence; they are incapable of forming extensive plans of government or conquest, and such is their obvious inferiority of intellect that they have been preyed upon by the sons of Shem and Japheth from the time of the first conquests. Thousands annually embark from the coasts of Africa, sufficiently numerous to overrun the whole world; but they embark in chains never to return to their own shores! Does any one dispute their inferiority with these facts before him? Do they tell us that they are equal in vigor, courage and intelligence to the European race? Then why has it happened that for more than four thousand years, they have remained at home in a savage state or have been taken as slaves to their fairer complected brethren? Why have not mighty empires arisen upon the banks of the Niger, the Congo and the Quarra, as well as upon the Euphrates, the Thames, the Tiber, the Seine and the Mississippi? It will not do to tell us that the heat of the climate, the exclusive deserts and intricate forests have prevented; for these exist in the plains of Mesopotamia, Hindostan and America. Nor will it solve the problem to say that Europeans have held these tribes in their degraded condition by violence, injustice and the slave-trade. 'Tis the holding in slavery that we are no-

	ST. DOMINGO,	A. D. 1789	A. D. 1832
Population,	600,000	280,000
Sugar exported,	672,000,000	none
Coffee,	86,789,000	32,000,000
Ships employed,	1680	1
Sailors,	27,000	167
Exports to France,	£6,720,000	none
Imports,	9,890,000	none

ting. And we demand why have they been held? How has it happened that the inhabitants of that vast and fruitful region have not arisen in their might and avenged the wrongs of their enslaved and injured countrymen? Why have they not repelled, with exterminating slaughter, the ruthless invaders of their homes and firesides? So would the sons of Japheth have acted; so have they acted, as all history attests. But again: 'Did not all nations start alike in the career of infant improvement? And was not Egypt, the cradle of civilization, nearer to Central Africa than the shores of Britain? In the earliest representations of nations in existence, the paintings on the walls of the Tombs of the Kings of Egypt, the different races of the Asiatics, or the Jews, the Hottentots and Europeans are distinctly marked; but the blue-eyed and white-haired sons of Japheth are represented in cow-skins, with the hair turned out-ward, in the pristine state of pastoral life, while the Hottentots are already clothed in the garb of civilized existence. What since has given so mighty an impulse to European civilization and retained in a stationary or declining state the immediate neighbors of Egyptian and Carthaginian greatness? It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion, save that in the qualities requisite to create and perpetuate civilization, the African is decidedly inferior to the European race; and if any doubt could exist on this subject it would be removed by the subsequent history and present state of the Haytian Republic. When nations started they were equal; the descendants of Ham seem to have been the first in the road to civilization, but soon they yielded their thrones and their persons to the sons of Japheth and Shem and have served them ever since, in hopeless prospect of a release from the iron rod.'"

So much for this earliest Bible recognition of Slavery.—Who dare say that it is not a matter of Providential ordination above the machinations of men, and confirmatory of divine inspiration overwhelming in the power and variety of its evidence? Next,

Abraham is presented to us as a pattern Saint whose faith in God has constituted him an example in all succeeding

ages: honored by Jews, Mohamedans and Christians as the "friend of God." He appears before us in the Scriptures (Gen. 14 c.) at the head of three hundred and eighteen slaves capable of bearing arms, from which we may reasonably infer that he was the owner of not less than one thousand.—This is the man whose name God has adopted as his "memorial to all generations, saying, *I am the God of Abraham.*" To him he gave the Institution of circumcision, to mark his descendants for special purposes, in which he again recognizes and approbates domestic and hereditary slavery. "He that is *born in thy house, and bought with thy money*, must needs be circumcised. Gen. 17: 13.

His descendants were enslaved, and in becoming an enfranchized nation, they received divine institutions and an authoritative law. The first of these institutions and a most significant one, was the Passover, in which the right of property in man is again distinctly recognized:—"And the Lord said unto Moses, this is the law of the Passover: no stranger shall eat of it, but every man's servant, *that is bought for money*, when thou hast circumcised him, shall eat thereof. A foreigner and a *hired servant* shall not eat thereof." Ex. 12: 43-46. You will here mark the distinction between a *hired servant* and a *slave*, one "*bought with money*," and another called a "*hired servant*." When he gave the Law from Sinai, he recognized the same right, saying: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his *man-servant*, nor his *maid-servant*, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's." Ex. 20: 17. What could be more clear than this? The right is sacredly guarded and incorporated with the moral and ceremonial institutions of that religion which alone had the direct sanction of Almighty God, for fifteen hundred years.

Mark you; the kind of servants are here described and distinguished from hired servants, and God recognizes the right of the owners in them and prohibits its violation, making it nothing short of robbery.

Statutes were afterwards made regulating this institution which define its nature and the natural obligations it imposed:—

“Now these *are* the judgments which thou shalt set before them. If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.—If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master’s, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: Then his master shall bring him unto the judges: he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door-post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him *for ever*.” Ex. 21: 1–6.

What have we here? A Slavery which sometimes separated husband from wife, and father from children—and this from the right in slaves as property, allowing the servant who could claim his freedom to make himself a slave forever, for the sake of his continued union with his house-hold. The slave is, also, emphatically called the “MONEY” of his owner.

“And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant: But as a hired servant, and as a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee; And then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bond-men. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor, but shalt fear thy God. *Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids.* Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that *are* with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit *them for* a possession, they shall be your bond-men *for ever*: but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor.” Lev. 25: 39–46.

What, again, I ask could be plainer than this? Here is a bondage limited; and one unlimited, hereditary, and perpetual. Does any one pause to enquire into the reason of it.—That, also, is apparent; it was the legitimate result of the degree of Heathenism and bestiality in which these nations were hopelessly involved. Indeed it would seem that when a people descend to a certain degree of ignorance and barbarism, there is for them no return except by being enslaved to one not so sunken, and this fact is confirmed by all subsequent history.

But we are told that the Law of the old Testament is repealed, and that to the superior principles of the New we must turn our attention. To the New, then, let us look.

To the Corinthian Christians, the Apostle Paul uses this language: "Let every man abide in the calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a bond-man (*Doulos, Slave*) care not for it. But if thou mayest be free, use it rather."—1 Cor. 7: 20–21. In his letter to the Ephesians, he enjoins: "Servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ: Not with eye-service as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart. With good-will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men. Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether *he be* bond or free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him." Eph. 6: 5–8.

To the Colossians: "Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." Col. 3: 22–25; 4: 1

To Timothy: *Of the duties of servants, &c:* he orders, "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strife of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself." 1 Tim. 6: 1-8.

It will be remembered, also, that he sent back a slave who had escaped from his master agreeing to pay for that part of his time in which he was detained in his service.—*Philm.*

But it will be said that Christ and the Apostles have not prohibited Polygamy and we might thus argue in favor of more wives than one. But the cases are widely different.—If Polygamy has not been prohibited neither, have they made any regulations respecting it. Whilst with respect to slavery we have a distinct and frequent recognition of it, and positive regulations prescribing the duties both of master and slave. Show a single recognition of Polygamy or a single regulation or law respecting a man's duty to his numerous wives or concubines, and there will be some propriety in seeking an objection to the force of the Scriptures we have read. But this can never be done; and the authority of the relation stands distinctly recognized and regulated.

Again: There has been some dispute with respect to the meaning of the terms rendered in our Bible *servant* and *master*. But here also, the evidence is conclusive and overwhelming. There are no words in the Greek language of stronger and more distinct signification than the words, *kurios* and *despotes*, translated masters, in the passages referred to. They carry the idea of absolute authority as much so as our words

Lord or Despot; whilst *doulos* always signifies, primarily, a slave. No man having any respect to his literary reputation, would say that either of these terms was used with more latitude in the days of the Apostles than they are now; or that they did not legitimately describe the relation of master and slave, giving supreme authority to the one, and requiring unlimited subjection from the other.

But with all this direct, and unequivocal evidence before us, we are told that Christ has laid down general principles for the regulation of human conduct, which, if carried out, would abolish all slavery of whatever grade or rank. This I unhesitatingly deny, and call for the proof. Is it the principle of loving a neighbor as yourself? This Law was given to the Jews at the same time that they received the law recognizing slavery, and is recorded in the same book. They found no incompatibility—how can we? The truth is, the Religion of Jesus Christ interferes with no political or natural relations only so far as it constantly offers an improvement and sanctification of every man's condition, whether it be high or low, bond or free. It teaches that Masters and slaves are alike slaves of sin and need a true and a higher freedom than that connected with any political or external relationship.—It would bind servants and masters together in the bond of a spiritual and heavenly union, making them brethren in Christ, and heirs to the same heavenly inheritance. It would enable them without any necessary interruption of their domestic relations to receive the ordinances of Christ together; to fill each his earthly sphere from a sense of religious obligation; and I do not deny, nay I heartily believe, that where the servant, from a proper intellectual and moral qualification should become capable of freedom, it would induce the Master or a state of Masters to provide for such freedom under a sense of the highest Christian responsibility. To be free is a preferable condition only for those who are prepared for it.—Hence, “if thou mayest be free, use it rather.” But the difficulty in these States is, that such is the fanatical violence with which the institution is assailed, that those connected with it must have their attention almost wholly engrossed in

its preservation instead of its amelioration. This difficulty is felt by every religious denomination, and every earnest man in the country. We are scarcely allowed to direct attention to the duties of either master or servant without giving rise to some suspicion as to the integrity of our purposes which very suspicion takes away the edge of our efforts. Here the madness of Abolitionism can easily be seen—blind to the very purposes it proposes to itself, and destroying or lessening the most efficient sources by which the real condition of the slave might be elevated and advanced. Were the Scriptures allowed to be the guide of the Religious Teacher upon these relations, we would have no difficulty; but so long as the mad and impracticable denunciations of fanatics strike at the root of the relation, we are forever thrown upon the defensive, and can make no direct progress in any effort which might look to a higher and more enlightened condition of those entrusted to our guardianship. For example: Perhaps, amongst the four millions of African Slaves now in these States, one in every hundred, might be found capable of freedom in some such Colony as Liberia. If the relation were not threatened by a power which sustains to us a common political interest and brotherhood in the Confederacy of these States, provision might be made for the purchase and freedom of all such; their qualifications being submitted to a proper umpire, having the true interests of the race at heart. With such a provision, benevolent and Christian Masters could and would direct their attention to the cultivation of the intellect of those who might give promise of capacity for such an enlargement, and the number would be swelled annually by appeals to the benevolence of individuals, Churches and States. But all efforts of this character are weakened or entirely cut off by the direct denial of the right to slaves,—a right which we have seen is established in the very nature of things, and sanctioned by every usage of law, order, and religion in all ages.

But in order more fully to appreciate what we mean by the nature of things with reference to this subject, we must, in the second place, look at the opposite of Slavery.

Great mistakes are constantly made on the fascinating subject of human Freedom. The love of it seems to be natural, but like every other passion misguided, it often proves a curse, instead of a blessing. To seek immunity from personal oppression and injury, is a highly commendable and virtuous principle in any man or people, and will always lead to the happiest results. Every concession to such a principle is seen to be safe and beneficial in all ages, whether upon the farm of the planter, in the nursery of the parent, or the hall of the Senate. But this love of liberty must ever be distinguished from the love of power. And often, when we hear the anthems that are sung to Liberty in our Northern States, the harmony and truth would be more in concord, if *power* were substituted in the place of Freedom. Political ambition to govern a people whose pride and prosperity excite their envy and call forth their malice, has much to do with the pretended love for the freedom of the black race. This among the leaders and a blinding fanaticism amongst the led, deaf alike to the capacity of the negro and the voice of all history, which voice proclaims that no class of men, much less the African, long accustomed to servitude, can receive the perilous gift of liberty either with safety to themselves or others—deaf to the voice of their own interests which have been fed and fostered by slave-labor; deaf to the Teachings of the Bible, Old Testament and New, and to the lessons of all experience, urges the liberty of an ignorant, degraded, and for thousands of years, a servile race; a race inferior in vigor, courage and intelligence, to many of the white races, who, under the most favoring circumstances, have not yet shown themselves capable of the continued efforts and persevering toil requisite to erect the glorious temple of Freedom! Liberty is a priceless jewel to those whose qualities of mind and habits of life, have rendered them capable of its exercise; but it is only an instrument of self-destruction in the hands of others. It is the most foolish dictate of a thoughtless philosophy, to assert that all men are capable of this priceless gift. It is turning the very engine of progress and improvement into one of destruction, and destruction too, to the very rights it pretends to hold sacred

and inviolable. Liberty to an ignorant and immoral people, is only license—license to do wrong; and all wrong-doing, is the violation of some inalienable right. I know of no wilder and more ruinous delusion, than that which supposes all men capable of free government; or *any man* capable of so high an exercise in any other proportion than that of a virtuous intelligence and experience. The reign of Terror is the great and unmistakable commentary, which a warning Providence holds up to the examination of the world, written all over with blood and crime! A government breathing the highest language of liberty, and uttering the noblest sentiments of philanthropy, whilst making *Death* the sole engine of its administration; its destinies controlled by a set of men who massacred in the name of the holiest principles, in the name of the public welfare, with the sacred words of virtue, humanity, the equality of man and the freedom of the world upon their lips, until Paris and France were baptized in the most ruthless carnage, that has ever disgraced mankind or defamed the annals of the world! The delivery of the car of a Freedom thus lawless into the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the establishment of a military despotism by a succession of illegal usurpations upon the genuine liberties of the people, which sought an extension of its iron bands over the whole world, was as natural as the crimes which produced it, had made it necessary. Guilty passions here, as every where brought their own punishment; and Liberty!—insulted name!—fell under the edge of the sword in France as it had fallen in Rome under the elder Cæsar. When I contemplate this fearful era, I am ready to exclaim: My God! help the people of modern society never to forget that lesson; help them to look at Guilty France decimated by its own cruelty—help them to remember the snows of Russia, that became the winding-sheet of the flower of her chivalry; help them to remember the Guillotine and the Hospitals of Germany, and the gory graves of the blood-stained Revolutionists. Help them ever to see the Chariot of Napoleon's ambition, rolling over the world; crushing generations beneath its wheels; ploughing, like the Car of Jugernaut, through human flesh, ex-

hausting in the pursuit of glory all the true energies of a virtuous Freedom: Let them never forget that

“France got drunk with blood to vomit crime,
And fatal have her Saturnalia been—
To Freedom’s cause, in every age and clime;
Because the deadly days which we have seen,
And vile ambition that built up between,
Man and his hopes an adamant wall
And the base pageant last upon the scene,
Are grown the pretext for the eternal thrall,
Which nips life’s tree and dooms man’s worst—his second fall.”

We would not make it a pretext, as anticipated by the Poet; but we would make it a warning! And could our feeble voice penetrate the ears of those who are now moving heaven and earth in the cause of popular freedom, regardless of the capacity and habits of those they would enfranchise, we would say, Beware! you are at war with the interests of your own cause; you are preparing to build another “adamantine wall” between man and his brightest hopes; you are fighting against the laws of God written in his word, and written again in the stern and inflexible lessons of human history; and *you can never succeed!* You may make a fearful Saturnalia of blood for now happy and peaceful America; you may bring on untold millions, miseries heart-rending to contemplate; you may make scenes of war, and spread desolation instead of progress and improvement over all our fairest fields, until the earth shall again groan to be rid of its maddened inhabitants, but it is all in vain! God has decreed and established his decree in the constitution of human nature, that no people can be free any further than they are virtuous and intelligent.

But it is said that the people of the States tolerating African Slavery, are behind the age in civilization, intelligence and useful enterprize, and thus it is argued that Slavery is a curse to those who are supposed to reap its greatest advantages. This common and popular belief needs a careful analysis and examination. To say nothing of the truth, that most of the wealth of our Northern traducers is the fruit of slave-labor in these States; that it feeds, clothes and educates them in a great measure, we are willing to meet the charge

in all the force in which it is presented. In point of wealth we are ready to admit the truth, we have no overgrown cities, and not much invested in large manufactories, palaces of marble, and *mercantile marines*. But we make the articles which build up the cities of our neighbors, if not, our own; keep up the busy hum of the manufactory, and crowd the capacious stomachs of the ships of many a distant as well as border coast. And we have comparatively no pauperism amongst us; certainly none that, by dire necessity, cannot be avoided. The single State of New York, has this night, more paupers than all the Southern States put together; and they are fearfully on the increase. A wealth that furnishes a supply of the actual necessities of man's condition, we have as no nation upon earth ever had; and I challenge contradiction. To whatever it may be ascribed, ours is now in all that sustains man's material nature, the most prolific land on the face of the earth in the rewards of its labor. In no part of the earth does such exuberant abundance reward the toil of the husbandman, or such marvelous supplies pour forth to meet the wants of the starving millions of the oppressive and burdensome governments of the earth. We must not shut our eyes to this fact. The happiness of millions in the old world and in the new, does not simply depend upon our products, but upon the least fluctuation in the amount or price of our products. The most accurate statistical reports show that the South is superior in wealth, and is this day in a more flourishing condition, as it regards all that pertains to substantial prosperity than any country on the globe. I know that the common opinion is to the contrary; but we also know that when facts shall be regarded over dogmatism, and when the fallacies and dreams of men who merely see the out-side of things shall be brought to the test and touch-stone of truth, what I state, will be readily admitted. The facts are not only clear, but the reason of them is obvious. The larger part of our Southern population;—nearly all the slaveholding population;—is Agricultural. One half the population of the free States live in towns—in the slave-holding, one-tenth. Common reason will teach you which has the larger producing class.

Then let it be remembered that Agriculture is always more productive in proportion to the number of persons employed; that it is less consuming and expensive; is less tempted to indulgence in costly houses, furniture and equipage, the mere outside show of wealth, and what we affirm will be apparent. The world is constantly deceived by appearances, and it is common to imagine, that where you see luxury and display, there must be wealth; but never was there a greater mistake. Wealth, there is somewhere, you may readily imagine when you see its tinsel and its parade; but when you look beneath the surface, and as a philosopher, trace its sources, you will be ready always to admit, that an agricultural people, like the Southern, command the sources of a true and indispensable wealth, as no people have ever commanded them. We have not room to prosecute this argument, but should our position be called in question, we feel ready to show that from the superior productiveness of Agricultural labor in the intrinsic value of the articles of necessity in our products, and our comparative freedom from the extravagant style of living in towns and cities, all I have assumed is demonstrably true.

I do not love this reference to sectional advancement. I do not intend it in the spirit of rivalry, but defence. Under the blessing of a benign providence, great prosperity has rested upon each section of our favored Confederacy. The Northern States have an extending commerce and growing manufactories. The Southern have the Agricultural products upon which both in a measure depend. United they have given to our common country, dignity and power, and open a destiny which no human calculation can measure.— But neither commercial nor manufacturing supremacy can be maintained, separated from the districts that furnish the Agricultural market and supplies. Witness Carthage, Tyre, and Venice! These cities in ruins, and their palaces in desolation, stand up as monuments before us.

But our Education is defective! and *so it is*, and would it were improved, as in the end it must be. But mistakes arise here also, and are often propagated by our press and pulpit, that should be corrected. We have an Education which far

surpasses any thing you can find in the northern free states: *An education of the heart*; of the social circle; which gives earnestness, honor and generosity to our public and private citizens, of the highest grades. In personal intrepidity, magnanimity of soul, and fearless determination, the South has no superiors. Let me but remind you of a fact open to the observation of all. It is not considered a trespass upon either the hospitality or business of a Southern planter, to spend a week, a month, or months beneath his welcome roof, in the most intimate of social intercourse; whilst ten minutes is often a trespass upon the attention of the Northern gentleman. This intercourse affords opportunities of the highest degree of instructive improvement. And I contend, and the practical judgment of northern and southern observers will bear me out, that the knowledge of things and the development of the moral power of man, depend more upon an education thus obtained, than upon all the knowledge of the arbitrary forms and rules that have ever regulated the schools of any people. Our Northern brethren have a cultivation that I admire—their common school system excites my warmest respect; their increasing and improved college organizations, and the general smartness (that's the word) that characterizes their people; but in the education of the affections in the true knowledge of things, they are not equal to the common attainments of Southern slaveholders. The truth is: Each division of the Union has a civilization and development, moral and intellectual, of its own; each having advantages over the other, and each, if they could believe it, by different and equally honorable paths, marching forward to the great goal of human regeneration. The system of intellectual culture at the North, does not suit the South; yet is it not superior, when the circumstances of the country and difference of destiny are properly considered. And each system might go on to improve and flourish, making its individual development in behalf of posterity, differing, indeed, enough to specifically mark each respectively, and being sufficiently alike to secure the same future, general result. The South already pre-

sents an anomaly in history, which, when justly viewed, must command the admiration of the civilized world. I mean, That it presents an agricultural people, with but few towns and cities, as refined and elevated as any on the face of the globe. Heretofore, almost every community engaged in Agricultural pursuits, has been a rude, unlettered, stupid people; whilst in these abused States we call attention to one far in advance of most in social development, and equal to any in the refinement, dignity and honor which everywhere command the respect of mankind. Peculiarities, the inevitable product of the diversity in our situation and habits, will ever mark both sections of our Union; but if that Union could be preserved from the chaos of society which must result from the fearful and threatened disruption which a blind fanaticism now seeks to involve us in—if despite the ominous heaving we now feel, the unruffled surface of general society could be maintained—the spirit of an enraptured prophet alone could foreshadow the resistless progress, development and glory which yet await the influence of our combined resources. It occurs to me that no partizan observer can open his eyes sufficiently to see the reflex and salutary influence of our different institutions and developments upon our common advancement and happiness. Both sections have hitherto been necessary to each other; both have had a distinct, individual development and civilization; and the charge upon the South that she is behind the age in intelligence, resources of wealth, or enterprise, only shows the ignorance of him who makes it. Our people have kept pace with their brethren in other sections of the Union.

Hence it will be seen that the South has furnished an equal proportion of distinguished civilians, Statesmen and military chieftains; and is, to say the least, in the history of a common country, as ably and honorably represented in court, camp and cabinet, as her boastful sister. Whilst the world remembers the Father of his country, and a grateful people speak the name of the Father of the Declaration, and the Father of the Constitution, the contrast will not be easily against us. These are names in the past, but modern comparisons will

not refute us as any one may see, who will look to the men whose deeds call forth the nation's admiration. And I speak it not in the spirit of odious rivalry, but as a fact to be pondered, that the North has not yet furnished us with a President whose administration could sustain itself for more than four years ; whilst most of the Presidents have been from these slave-holding States, and all of them, that have sustained themselves in a consecutive administration ! Whether the patriarchal administration of a government over the Slaves of a plantation, which early introduces to a practical knowledge of the common principles of all government, and gives the independence and firmness necessary to every public, responsible station, is the cause to which we are to look and by which we are to account for this fact, we pretend not to affirm. The fact is a part of our history, and the large majority of the names that connect themselves with the distinguishing features of the government or its administration, are the names of Southern Slave-holders !

It is odious to draw contrasts ; it is grating to all my feelings to do so even in defence ; but we may safely say that the South is equal in virtue, intelligence, patriotism, courage, disinterestedness and all the high qualities that adorn humanity ; and if deficient in the amount of an aggregated wealth, in the growth of cities and the palaces that cover a sterile soil, it might be attributable to a course of national legislation that it would not become us here to investigate. We may say, however, without having our patriotism or right of speech called in question by those who monopolize all of that valuable commodity at present, that the tribute first of the slave trade, and since of slave labor, has had much to do in this boasted superiority.

But we return from our digression to the statement of a few additional facts with regard to negro slavery. I contend that the relation now existing in the slave-holding states of master and slave, between two races differing in origin, color, and having other physical as well as intellectual differences, has been productive of good and not evil to both, but of incalculable good to the African. In the slavery of these states, for

as yet somewhat inscrutable purposes, we are presented with the rescue of four millions of human beings from the hardships of a savage state; placed in a relation of greater physical comfort than any other laboring class in the world; delivered from cannibalism and all the abominable barbarities of the lowest idolatry of the darkest region on the face of the earth, and brought within the reach of the unsearchable blessings of the gospel of Christ. In no European country is there such care for the laborer in sickness, and kind attention to the infirmities of age, as the mass of slaves here receive. We need no further confirmation of this fact, than their unparalleled increase under the fostering system by which they are held. Look at the sick and the infirm slave on the one hand, with his family and his friends around him, under the superintending care of a kind master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper-poor, now swelling the burdens of every other civilized population upon earth, save our own.* At the

*An hour or two since my attention was called to the following account of the condition of the laboring classes of Europe, the same Europe whose travellers and reformers denounce the Slavery in these States with such virulence and holy horror. We do not quote it to array one class of evils against another, but to show, how ill-timed their denunciations of our Institutions, whilst such specimens of *freemen* stand up from their damp and filthy and fireless dens of squalid wretchedness at home!

“Let us look, for a moment, at the condition of the ‘FREE’ laboring population of Great Britain. We give statistical facts:

“ ‘In London, one-tenth of the population are paupers, and 20,000 persons rise every morning without knowing where they are to sleep at night. The paupers, criminals, and vagrants, alone, in its vicinity, are 1,800,000.—*Alison’s Principles of Population*.

“ ‘In Liverpool, there are 7,800 inhabited cellars, occupied by 39,000 persons. The great proportion of these cellars are dark, damp, confined, ill-ventillated, and dirty.’—*Mr. Slaney’s Report to the House of Commons*.

“Dr. Robertson, an eminent surgeon of Manchester, who has had a great deal of experience among the laboring classes, sums up thus the accumulated evils incident to their condition:

“ ‘Too early employment—too long employment—too much fatigue—no time for relaxation—no time for mental improvement—no time for the care of health—exhaustion—intemperance—indifferent food—sickness—premature decay—a large mortality.’

“The same gentleman, in speaking of the laboring poor of the agricultural districts, says that, in his opinion, their state is not more favorable to the preservation of perfect life of body than that of the manufacturing poor. He remarks:

same time their slavery has provided the whites of the Japhetic race with the resources of an unexampled prosperity—upon which prosperity, millions of human beings both in Europe and America, are made daily dependent, and many of whom are reckless denouncers of Southern slavery.—The question, in this view, becomes a very simple one: will we give up what little civilization the world has gained, by burdening it with a population every way incapable of freedom? Will we throw loose, to infect society or to become its victims, millions of beings destitute even of that providence for their natural wants that would provide food for their animal subsistence? Will we take them out of a position which is equal to their highest present capacity, and superior to what it has ever been in any age or part of the world? Shall we cut them off from a race of masters with whom there is now a fellow-feeling in sorrows and joys, a mutual dependence and affection which calls into play all the finer emotions of our nature; and make them aliens from our hearts and homes, to live in indolence, bestiality and misery, as they do in every other part of the world and to a great extent even in the northern free states, making them slaves and victims to a community, instead of individuals whose interests and education compel them to care for them; converting them from being, as they are now, amongst the most useful and happy population on earth, to be the most useless and miserable? At

“What I say concerning these poor people, is the result of much observation of them, and I consider it a duty to lift the veil from a subject surrounded by many respectable prejudices. * * * * Their extreme poverty, and their constant labor so influence them, that the majority—I am sure I speak within bounds—have never the enjoyment of health after forty years of age. This is the result of bad food—insufficient clothing—wearing toil—and the absence of all hope of any better in this world.’

“The peasant’s house is not the abode of joy or even comfort. No “children run to lisp their sire’s return,” or “climb his knees, the envied kiss to share.” The children are felt to be a burthen, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and lying on beds worse than the lower animals; they are ragged, or clothed by charity; untaught, or taught by charity; if sick, cured by charity; if not starved, fed by proud charity.’ &c.

“Dr. Kay, in his description of the Factory System, says, in speaking of the condition of the artizan:

“‘Domestic economy is neglected—domestic comforts are unknown. A meal of the coarsest food is prepared with heedless haste, and devoured with equal precipitation. Home has no other relation to him than that of shelter—few pleasures are there—it chiefly presents to him a scene of physical exhaustion, from which he is glad to escape. His house is ill-furnished, uncleanly, often ill-ventilated, perhaps damp; his food, from want of forethought and domestic economy, is meagre and innutritious; he is debilitated and hypochondriacal, and falls the victim of dissipation.’”—*De Bow’s Review*, vol. 7, No 3.

present, under the supervision of the white man, they produce the articles that regulate the commerce of the world: a commerce which may more justly be called king than any monarch now upon the throne:—destined to clothe the naked savage and extend the knowledge of civilization and Christianity over the most benighted regions of the earth. Follow, in your imagination, the articles produced by slave-labor, from the hands of the well-fed slave to the ports where it is shipped; thence to the cities and manufactories of the northern States and of Europe; thence to the markets of the world. Behold the millions whose bread and elevated position,—from which they ignorantly scorn the idea of slavery, that is, a slavery of the blacks or a slavery which holds them directly responsible for the health and happiness of the toiling dependent,—depend upon these articles, and you will have a picture mortifying, indeed, to the pretended philanthropy of the times, but, at the same time portraying the beneficial agencies of a wise Providence, as salutary and as comprehensive as it is above the piping cant and narrow prejudices of a restless fanaticism. Would you render houseless and defenceless a people thus employed? Would you throw back into the miseries of Barbarism a contented people thus made necessary to all that is good, great and useful in the brightest portions of the globe? To the conscience of every reflecting man, I submit the question. And is it wisdom to do all this in obedience to the behests of the wildest fanaticism that ever maddened any people; a meddling philanthropy, its own eye filled with a beam in the vice, pauperism and idiocy of a toiling population at home, whilst seeking to pull a mote out of ours; whose charity is for show and never grows warm except for objects over which it never did, nor never can, exert a beneficial influence, whilst want and misery lie daily at its own gate, licked, Lazarus-like, by more friendly dogs? Allow me to say that this is the crying evil of the day:—A disposition to intermeddle with every body's business but our own. A responsibility for the sins of others; the same that hung heretics two hundred years ago; killed the martyrs of all ages; and now, more than all things else, sacrifices the best hopes

of the negro, as it has ever been contrary to the peaceful interests and true happiness of all men. Let us away with it, whenever it would enter our bosoms, and substitute in its stead that sense of the great and ever ready duty of man, whether he be black or white, bond or free, viz: the improvement, to the best of our ability, of the condition in which it has pleased God to place us, and therewith to be content.

Gentlemen and Ladies: Allow me to say in conclusion, that this inter-meddling spirit is the curse of the age. It proposes not only to interfere with the God-appointed relation of master and slave, but desires, in its recent developments, in France, and to a small extent (I thank God it is as yet small,) in the northern states, to interrupt almost every divine appointment and established usage of the world. It not only calls slavery infamous and criminal, but the institution of marriage, the right of property in the soil of the globe, it also denounces and seeks to destroy. The decree of God that husband and wife shall be regarded as one flesh; that their union forms a sacred temple for affections and interests, dissolvable only by death; a decree by which the noblest specimens of matrons, maidens and men that the world has ever seen, have come into existence; a decree, the violation of which, upturns the very foundations of society, and opens the floodgates of all infidelity, vice and wretchedness,—it denounces as folly, and would seek to divide the household into separate interests; destroy the shrine of the domestic hearthstone, and give us in America, what we already have in corrupted Italy, Germany and France, a state of society where the illegitimate births are as twenty to one, and where there are millions of human beings who know not the tender name of Father or Mother. Even the natural relationship of parent and child it would violate, by giving the latter to the state as its more natural guardian. This philanthropy, so called; this refined Christianity, which denounces the slaveholder, as God-accursed and sin-besotted; which breaks the fellowship of churches because it would be sanctioning this infamous iniquity, is in some of its departments waging a crusade with all that man has ever held dear, natural and di-

vinely appointed; against every thing, in a word, but the giant fanaticism, folly, and sinfulness of its own heart.

In conclusion may we not assume the following as true?—

1. Slavery was established by the decree of the Creator of man.

2. It has received his recognition in every age, and he has made positive regulations concerning it in both the Old and the New Testament.

3. That whilst Christianity does not abolish the institution, it would seek to improve and sanctify it, in common with all human relationships and conditions.

4. It has existed in all ages, and has been found amongst nations, highest in the scale of civilization, and as far advanced as any in proficiency in the arts.

5. The slavery of these States has thus far proved a blessing to both races, and now presents the world with a happier and more advanced negro population than can be found in any other part of the globe.

6. That liberty is only a blessing to any of us so far as we use it in obedience to the laws of God; so far, if you please, as we please to do right. Beyond these limits, servitude is a blessing to any people and freedom a calamity leading to insubordination, self-will, and revolution, of every kind, until it destroys its own energies and yields, willingly, to the first master that will assume the throne. And I will add,

7. That human government has been divinely appointed, and is absolutely indispensable to human happiness. Its form, however, or mode of organization, has not been appointed, for no one form would be suited to all people; nor the same form to the same people under all circumstances.—From the past history and present condition of our people, white and black, we may safely regard that form of government which recognizes the institution of slavery in these States, as the best, the condition of both races being considered, for the development, progress and happiness of each; and it would be madness and folly in the extreme, to do any thing that would lead to its destruction; and especially since history has hitherto positively decided that the negro race can

never be induced to labor continuously without the authority of a master. The experience of Africa in all ages, of St. Domingo in the last, and of the British West India Colonies and of the Free States of our own Confederacy in the present, has decided that the utmost that a practical philanthropy can do is to elevate them in their servile condition, and restrain the rigors of oppression.

Our duty as citizens and as Christians is plain: We are not responsible for the existence of slavery; BUT WE ARE FOR ITS AMELIORATION WHEREVER IT CAN BE AMELIORATED, AND FOR THE ELEVATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THOSE ENTRUSTED TO OUR CARE.—In this we cannot longer allow ourselves to be interfered with by an impracticable and denunciatory fanaticism. Its interference is not only insulting, but it hinders the discharge of our Christian duties, and therefore, must be prevented at all hazards and at any sacrifice. We must repudiate fanaticism even when it wears the often assumed and holy name of Religion, and especially now, that it is fanned into fury by the most malignant emotions of selfish ambition. No principle is so powerful to upturn the foundations of society and desolate all the sacred shrines of virtue, freedom and Christianity. It established the stalls of the Inquisition, and lighted the fires of every religious persecution. It has ever supplanted the purest Christianity with the grossest superstitions, and filled with implacable hatred the hearts of those whose profession had engaged them to breathe peace on earth and good will towards men. It held the “Koran, Death or Tribute” in the hands of Mohamedan Generals, and pillaged the most opulent cities, desolated the most flourishing territories, and spread the most deep-rooted and permanent evils that ever inflicted the world. It guided the rapid and terrible career of the Macedonian and the Corsican who ravaged empires, demolished governments and prostrated what little of regulated freedom the peaceful pursuits of men had gained. It decoyed the crowding millions, under the zealot Peter, as the Indian lures the herd of the forest into the pit—into one wide, deep grave. Behold those millions, and weep over the folly of humanity, in its vain attempts to change what God

and destiny has fixed. Behold them uttering, in one breath, prayers to Heaven for their own safety and burning curses upon their enemies. See them, swelling like a mighty river—nobles leaving their palaces to lead their blinded followers to destruction—kings exhausting their exchequers to furnish supplies—under the guide of ignorant, deluded, aye, and religious, i. e. fanatical monks, in all the pomp of chivalry, with the blood-red cross upon their banners streaming far and wide—rolling their waves of people over provinces, entangled in forests, and starving in deserts, until the mighty mass are swept by the angel of Death, and you may have some idea of what Fanaticism may do when all its elements are developed and its forces arrayed. Shall it spread its baleful influences over our fair and hitherto, God-favored inheritance? Shall this prosperous and advancing people, by their contests over the prospective civil freedom of the African, loose their own, and throw back his advancement, for hundreds of years? Shall it desolate the sacred shrines of our devotion, consecrated by the blood of revolutionary heroes, and reflecting the glory of that model man, which a merciful Providence raised up in these ends of the Earth, of spotless character, incorruptible integrity, standard patriotism, imperturbable fortitude and prophetic wisdom, and whose name, uttered by the lips of twenty millions of people, still proves a tower of strength for the preservation of our institutions, and must so prove as long as we can estimate freedom and virtue?—FORBID IT, MERCIFUL HEAVEN! Rather grant that each, in our united position, both with respect to the white and the black divisions of a common race, may be allowed to employ the means that God hath given us to work out, in peace, all the good of which both are capable, and which, the government bequeathed by our fathers, with all its historic associations and world-wide glory, is expected to achieve! “So that our posterity may inherit the land, and no weapon formed against us shall prosper; and against every tongue that contendeth against us, we shall gain our cause, and have it to say, This is the inheritance of the servants of Jehovah, and the blessing which they receive from me, saith the Lord!”